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I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

• 101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingué. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Pundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbdá (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

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174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingúa, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

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361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck lea to another government post named Tehycuê.
[241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by
[464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain'
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
• 10 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambí, Amambaí, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Trofal) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

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The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

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1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

(113)

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of
• 101 197 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spacial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Plata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

(179) (182)

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

• 101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Mandóva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (1),

[114] 1. /From p. 111 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 147 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/10 cont./

[97] [101] Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 33 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 186, writes: "When the Guaraní refer themselves in their language as people or as bands, they use the expression 'Ñandéva' in the case where the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the exoendonymization of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as Ñandevaekúe (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 33 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, verse and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /here 1, p. 6/.

[94]

(our people), Ñandéva ení (a likewise our people), and Ñandéva oré (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only exoendonymization used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the names Ayapanéiva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañygua and some other bands mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The added call is Tsiripá ("the "Little Tsiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[126]

[114] 5. /From p. 33 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1945a.

/To cont./

[75] [79] [101] In two villages on the Pacáhás coast (Xavier and Bananal) live Šanáiwa who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, particularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Šanáiwa of the village of Acatibá near Beará, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." I stayed with the Šanáiwa of Descoberta, and in the extreme south of Minas Gerais, a few kilometers from the Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacaré or Pôrto Limão, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /[1]/ certain that the Indians of that village deem like Guaraníes /people who live in the north, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

[101] Mbáe /Mbaye/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by them General knows in the literature as Kaingué /Caingue/, Kainá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Šanáiwa call Tanáinupá (?)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1945a.

("bread chimpá") or Tratá, Šanaiá ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for them indiscriminately the name Apíkaná, or Apyteré (pronunciation Apekaná, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (?).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Aweti /Awetu/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/11 cont./

• 101 [114] navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kaingáng and the Botocudo. "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Aniti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apiká. 'That which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 191.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Bacairán, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avéñagual, "man with calf," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbyá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbyá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbyá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guairá, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Tobí and Tembekuá (?).

[114] [361] 8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1961 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso and the name Tembekuá is not an auto-denomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Bakhyj, from where their villages (Capiim, Pornoma, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[114] The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of kaí y yvá) varies between Kainá and Kaijová, with the intermediate forms Kainá and Kayová. I use the last one (?).

[114] 8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948a).

2: Schaden--11 F-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/11 cont./

• 101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iaí (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-56).

The designation Tetí (Teýí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the colonial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

[114]

It seems that the Txitipá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Aviáxitipá, but different from the Txitipá ((Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txitipá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuaxapiné.

[115]

[361]

Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicué, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

[359]

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There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114]

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

2: Schaden--12 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

• 101 167 [114] confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagí/ in their migrations.

619 114 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 186 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ʃ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinĩ (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ũtxĩ." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

• 101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 169 [773] [789] They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the end of the world, prophetied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafligná /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguaniva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Raporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

2: Schaden--59 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Nandéva of the coast that we find one of [178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") • [101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ guí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva. [324] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

B: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Guarani Ethn

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[179] Nandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants: they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman: sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Nandéva), adjaká (Mbyá), and
415 mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

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6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacú." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbyá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- w.s.o. especially in the mythology, know the word pái with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Nandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

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/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a
462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista
[184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production
[178] for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

[184] Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they
[517] have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make trumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over uncart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INTRODUCTION

101 •

THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupi-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture.

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco:

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingué, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paiaguá" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paiaguá proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the region of Piracununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paiaguá." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of Guaranys.[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ka'á*) and "man" or "men" (*aβá*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced." The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognised to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[10] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani."

Métraux,[11] and Klimek and Milke,[12] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupí groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guaraní and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupí-Guaraní family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupí-Guaraní peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupí-Guaraní have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guaraní-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

[10] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[11] Métraux, 1928. [12] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 101 In a discussion where we must consider the various Guarani-speaking peoples of the Paraguayan area, it will help reduce the confusion of tribal and linguistic names to recall the various ways in which the term "Guarani" has been used:

1. "Guarani" has a purely *linguistic* sense in which it is still used today, often in the compound expression "Tupi-Guarani." In this sense it included at least every Guarani-speaking group of the area of the Platine provinces of Spain. Thus the Cayuá are "Guarani." Whether any important linguistic distinctions actually followed the lines of usage of the two terms, "Tupi" and "Guarani," is doubtful.

2. "Guarani" was also the original general *tribal* or ethnic term for nearly all the groups of Indians of this speech who were to be encountered in the Spanish regions of South America. Nearly all other known Indians of this linguistic family were to be found in Brazil and uniformly received the general tribal and linguistic designation, "Tupi." It may be seriously doubted whether the distinction between "Tupi" and "Guarani" reflected any fundamental, dual cultural or linguistic division nearly as much as it did the mere fact that part of the members of this linguistic family happened to live in Spanish and the rest in Portuguese colonial domains. It is certainly not implied by this that there were no differences among the various groups of Tupi-Guarani, politically, culturally, or linguistically. But the two terms in the early accounts cannot be taken as necessarily expressive of any such differences. It very frequently occurred that the Tupi-Guarani peoples took sides in the struggles between the European colonial states. Thus some of the Tupi tribes were early allies of the French on the Brazilian coasts while others were cohorts of the Portuguese. Later, of course, the struggle reduced itself to one between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in which the "Guarani" were sometimes the cohorts of the Spanish and the "Tupi" those of the Lusitanians.

3. In the mission period, as has already been mentioned, "Guarani" came to have a more restricted meaning as a tribal term. It was distinct from "Cayuá," and also from other non-reduced tribes, such as Chiriguano, who were "Guarani" only in the larger cultural sense and in the linguistic sense. Here again the distinction and the terminology were primarily European since "Cayuá" had no necessary bearing on indigenous cultural or political divisions, as far as our evidence goes, but only on the fact that these Indians were outside the European pale. "Guarani" specifically came to refer to those Indians of Guarani speech who lived in the Jesuit missions—the "missions of the Guarani." Whether the terminological lines so drawn did incidentally reflect indigenous cultural differences among these Indians is something we shall probably never know.

4. Present use is made of the term "Guarani" to refer to certain tribes in the southern Brazilian and Paraguayan area. Thus Nimuendajú speaks

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of "Apopacuva-Guarani," at the same time recognizing as distinct Cayuá and other groups of related speech. It may be impossible ever to discover if these present "Guarani" groups have any significant and exclusive relation to the Guarani-speakers who were formerly missionized or otherwise reduced (meaning No. 3). Are these "Guarani," for example, the particular descendants of formerly reduced Indians while others, like the Cayuá, are not? Müller, discussing three present Guarani-speaking groups in eastern Paraguay, which he says are culturally and tribally distinguishable, the "Paí," the "Chiripá," and the "Mbya," comments that by the Paraguayans only the last are called "Caayguá" (Cayuá), while the first two proudly call themselves "Guarani."[33]

Some of the confusion which now exists as a result of the ambiguous usage of tribal and linguistic terms in reference to the indigenes of Guarani speech in southern Brazil and Paraguay may be erased in the following chapters.

THE SOCIAL SETTING

The principal occupation of the white settlers of the southern Mato Grosso region is the production of *herva mate* (*Ilex paraguayensis*). Some cattle are also raised, and there are certain other pursuits. The area is very sparsely settled by Paraguayans (some of whom speak no Spanish or Portuguese), Brazilians, and Argentines; the last-named are mostly from the provinces of Misiones or Corrientes. Non-Indians as a group are definitely set apart from Indians. Their culture, to the knowledge of the writer, has not been thoroughly studied, but some Argentine writers consider that they possess a variety of the so-called "Gaucho" culture.[34]

For the most part the non-Indian settlers eke out a meager existence either producing small quantities of *mate* or working for larger producers in one way or another. The poor grade of cattle raised throughout the region are allowed to roam at large most of the time with an occasional roundup for checking, counting, and driving to market. Most families, whatever their primary occupation, raise almost all of their own food, in slash-and-burn fields (*roças*) where agricultural methods are little, if any, different from those employed by the Cayuá.[35]

A few more fortunate individuals manage to become moderately successful cattlemen or producers or dealers in *mate* and other raw commodities, often combining this effort with a limited sort of general store or trading post arrangement (*bolicho*) on the retail side. These *bolichos* sometimes do a sufficient volume of business, for barter and cash, to constitute a sole enterprise and

[33] Müller, 1934-35, 29: 179-80.

[34] In Argentina this is considered an outgrowth of assimilation between the indigenous Indian—largely Guarani-speaking—population and the early colonial frontier settlers of those parts.

[35] The reason for similarity between white and Indian agriculture in Brazil is one of assimilation largely on the part of the whites. Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brasil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[38]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[38] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a viola d'amor, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

4: Watson--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 SM44 Guarani SM43 Cayua

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of 241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, 36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations 65 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on 101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-799 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil 36 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not [162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
• [101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of Uniño and Mina Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
[628] counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassuí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
174 the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
177 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
313 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 S344 Guarani S344
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

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Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and reserves of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account[1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingui, Caingué, Caiowa, Cayuvá, Kaiuvá, Kaingá, Kaingue, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. R., *Reise nach Paraguay, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826* (mit den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachtrage herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

Is Manaus--13 E-6 (1929) 1930 1910 Chiriguano 1910

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is fair toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections; with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordilliera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

Terena
Guarani 1717
Nhaga 1211
Cayiga 1711

1. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 19° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 8th Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1962), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, Dezembro, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Ñandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil (3).

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

DeOliveira--UH S-44(1955-1956) 1960 SEC Comm SEC Terena Guarani APY

[Guaraní]

6 /55 com./
967 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
497 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/56/ Francisco Horta

61
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guaraní
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
492 of the four population nuclei in the aldeia: a) the central
472 nucleus or Aldeia Faricha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
61 b) Aldeia Sarará, as they call a concentration of 377 Kaiwá
1330 Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
472 its own chief, "Captain" Jerso Imarõ; c) also Aldeia Pirarito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranches,
with 30 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
180 persons living in ranches along Salobra or Jaguapiru stream.

61 By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
925 of Mato Grosso, the government donated these lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 500
762 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
4 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
1345 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
164 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Hiroshe Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
698 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

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THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume I, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingangue*.

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Carió*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Bueno de Canavieu to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 25°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandule*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of undoubtable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the boundaries between the Charrúa and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechanes* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatín* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatín*; on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taiobe*. Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang*, or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí*, were scattered among the *Guaraní*.

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In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatín*, were driven south by the *Mbeyá-Guaicurú*, a Chaco tribe.

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Modern Guaraní tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingué* (*Kaa-dhuwa*, *Kaingua*, *Ceyué*, *Montaras*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

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About 1800, the *Caingué* (*Coagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Caingué* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Tarama* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

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The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Piri-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

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Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Caingua* (*Caingua*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuaba, Ava-mbihá, Carygua, Apytere, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Caingua*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuí-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocai River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pai'* (*Tevaihá*), who live north of the Jejuí-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Caingua* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Caingua* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañygua*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River. (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

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The ancient habitat of the *Oguauiva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauiva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

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The other *Caingua* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupayná River (Mato Grosso); the *Yuytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catandiva Jataky*, in the same State.

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The *Apapocuva*, *Tañygua*, *Oguauiva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yuytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also Cheiru in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

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Caiuadwá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kaygwá*).

The *Ivapuré* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingwá* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingwá* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingwá* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingwá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingwá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingwá*. On the *Caingwá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingwá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingwá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

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influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.